

Message Text

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FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN

SUBJECT: SUNDAY PRESS ITEMS, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1976

NO. 24

1. JACK ANDERSON (WASH POST): "AMERICAN 'AGRIPOWER' TO COUNTER OPEC?"

"IN A CONFIDENTIAL MEMO INTENDED FOR PRESIDENT FORD'S EYES ONLY, TREASURY SECRETARY WILLIAM SIMON HAS CALLED FOR THE USE OF AMERICAN 'AGRIPOWER' TO COUNTER THE OIL CARTEL.

"THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT BE APPROACHED 'AS A BLOCK,' HE WROTE. INSTEAD THE UNITED STATES SHOULD 'FOCUS ATTENTION' ON IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA. 'PRESSURE ON IRAN IS CENTRAL,' HE EMPHASIZED.

"SIMON TOLD THE PRESIDENT BLUNTLY: 'I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE BEEN PURSUING THE WRONG POLICY TOWARD THE ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC). WE SHOULD ADOPT A MORE SELECTIVE POLICY AIMED AT IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA.'

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"IN SIMON'S VIEW, SAUDI ARABIA HAS BEEN THE DEFENDER OF 'THE MODERATE VIEW' AMONG THE OPEC PARTNERS AND SHOULD BE OFFERED 'A LITTLE INCENTIVE TO REDUCE PRICES AND INCREASE SUPPLIES.' THE UNITED STATES SHOULD IMPORT MORE FROM THE

SAUDIS, SIMON ARGUED, IN EXCHANGE FOR 'A GOOD OIL DEAL' THAT WOULD INSURE 'THEIR FUTURE MARKET.'

"HE CHARGED THAT IRAN, ON THE OTHER HAND, 'IS THE DOMINANT FORCE IN OPEC FOR HIGHER OIL PRICES. THEIR 'BOGUS ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS ... ' HE URGED, 'SHOULD NOT GO UN-CHALLENGED.' HE WANTED THE UNITED STATES TO 'TAKE A TOUGH PRIVATE LINE WITH IRAN, THREATENING OVERT US COUNTERACTIONS IF THEIR STANCE IS NOT ALTERED.'

"THE TREASURY SECRETARY CITED, AS A PRESSURE POINT, IRAN'S GROWING DEPENDENCE ON AMERICAN PRODUCTS. 'THE SHAH'S MEGALOMANIA HAS PLACED IRAN IN A POSITION WHERE US RESTRICTIONS ON ARMS TRANSACTIONS, EXPORTS AND US BUSINESS ACTIVITY COULD BE PAINFUL AND COSTLY TO HIM,' ARGUED SIMON.

"EVEN THE SAUDIS, HE SAID, HAD BEEN URGING THE UNITED STATES TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE SHAH'S CONSTANT CLAMORING FOR HIGHER PRICES. 'SAUDI ARABIA HAS REPEATEDLY ASKED US TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE SHAH,' SIMON CONFIDED IN HIS SIX-PAGE MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT. THE SAUDI ROYAL FAMILY HAD TOLD HIM PERSONALLY, WROTE SIMON, THAT 'SAUDI ARABIA WOULD PRESS OPEC FOR LOWER PRICES' BUT THAT THEY 'NEED THE US HELP TO TURN THE SHAH AROUND.'

"SAUDI OIL MINISTER AHMEN ZAKI YAMANI 'HAS WRITTEN ME SEVERAL TIMES ALONG THE SAME LINES,' THE TREASURY SECRETARY ADDED. 'YAMANI AND OTHERS HAVE SAID THEY WONDER WHETHER, IN FACT, WE WANT LOWER OIL PRICES SINCE WE NEVER EVEN RAISE THE SUBJECT WITH THE SHAH.'

"THIS BRINGS UP ONE OF WASHINGTON'S MOST ENDURING MYSTERIES. HOW HAS THE SHAH MANAGED TO GET JUST ABOUT WHAT HE WANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES? IN HIS GREED FOR MORE BILLIONS, HE LED THE DRIVE FOR HIGHER OIL PRICES. THIS WAS AN ECONOMIC PEARL HARBOR FOR THE UNITED STATES.
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YET WASHINGTON COURTED THE SHAH AND REBUFFED THE SAUDIS, WHO WANTED TO HOLD PRICES DOWN.

"AS SIMON SAID, THE SHAH IS A MEGALOMANIAC, DRIVEN BY VISIONS OF GLORY AND DREAMS OF DOMINATING THE PERSIAN GULF. HE SEEKS HIMSELF AS ANOTHER CRYUS THE GREAT, WHO REIGNED OVER THE MIDEAST 500 YEARS BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST. THE SHAH IS A TRYANT WITH A BRUTAL SECRET POLICE FORCE, WHICH KEEPS HIS JAILS CRAMMED WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS.

"STILL, HE MANAGES TO WORK HIS WAY IN WASHINGTON. HE HAS BEEN MORE SUCCESSFUL SINCE RICHARD NIXON CAME TO POWER. NIXON AND THE SHAH HIT IT OFF LIKE FRATERNITY BROTHERS.

AGAIN AND AGAIN, THE FORMER PRESIDENT PRAISED THE SHAH AS A 'GOOD AND OLD FRIEND,' A 'COURAGEOUS LEADER' AND A 'WORLD STATESMAN OF THE FIRST RANK.' AFTER ONE SUCH OBSEQUIOUS SOLILOQUY, THE SHAH STOOD UP AND COMPLIMENTED NIXON FOR HIS 'NATURAL ELOQUENCE.'

"THERE HAVE BEEN PERSISTENT BUT UNPROVED RUMORS THAT THE SHAH HAS PAID OFF TOP AMERICAN OFFICIALS. WE SPENT SIX MONTHS CHECKING INTO REPORTS, FROM SEPARATE SOURCES, THAT THE SHAH HAD FUNNELED MONEY INTO THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION BY WAY OF MEXICO. WE CONFIRMED THAT THE SHAH HAD TRANSFERRED MORE THAN \$1 MILLION FROM HIS PERSONAL, NUMBERED ACCOUNTS IN SWISS BANKS TO THE BANCO DE LONDRES Y MEXICO IN MEXICO CITY. BUT WE WERE UNABLE TO CONFIRM THAT THE MONEY REACHED ANYONE CONNECTED WITH NIXON.

"IT IS CURIOUS, NEVERTHELESS, THAT NIXON PERSONALLY MADE THE SECRET DECISION TO SELL THE SHAH VIRTUALLY ANYTHING HE WANTED FROM THE US MILITARY ARSENAL. THIS SECRET ORDER, WHICH CAME OUT OF A 1972 NIXON STOPOVER IN TEHRAN, ENABLED THE SHAH TO BECOME THE MILITARY POWER HE IS TODAY. INDEED, HE HAS RECEIVED MORE MILITARY HARDWARE FROM THE UNITED STATES THAN HIS ARMED FORCES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ASSIMILATE.

"SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER HAS SOUGHT TO MAKE IRAN THE LINCHPIN OF AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
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THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO USING IRAN AS A BASE FOR MONITORING THE SOVIET UNION.

"BUT IN WILLIAM SIMON'S VIEW, THIS RELATIONSHIP MUST CHANGE. WE MUST 'PUT THE CASE' TO IRAN, HE WROTE, 'OR WE HAVE TO BE WILLING TO LIVE WITH INCREASINGLY HIGHER OIL PRICES AND THE CONSEQUENCES BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL.'

"HIS RECOMMENDATIONS HAVE BEEN RESISTED, SIMON TOLD THE PRESIDENT, 'BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION.' SIMON HAD HEARD ARGUMENTS, HE WROTE THAT FOREIGN POLICY REQUIRES US TO MAINTAIN 'GOOD RELATIONS' WITH IRAN; THAT WE MUST MAINTAIN HIGH LEVELS OF ARMS SALES TO IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA; AND THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY NEEDS THE TECHNICAL ASSETS IN IRAN. IN ADDITION, SOME ARGUE THAT ANY ANTI-OPEC MOVES BY THE US WOULD BE USELESS AND COULD RESULT IN ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES IN THE FORM OF A NEW EMBARGO OR OTHER DISRUPTION TO US ECONOMY."

"SIMON HAS REJECTED ALL THESE ARGUMENTS. INSTEAD, HE RECOMMENDED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES TAKE THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS AGAINST IRAN AND ANY OTHER OPEC

COUNTRY THAT DOESN'T 'ACT RESPONSIBLY':

"- 'REFUSE TO LICENCE EXPORTS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT.'

"- INVOLVE THE TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT. UNDER ITS TERMS, INVESTMENTS BY US FIRMS IN THESE COUNTRIES CAN BE DECLARED 'PREJUDICIAL TO THE US INTEREST.'

"- 'REQUIRE ALL US EXPORTS TO OPEC COUNTRIES TO BE LICENSED - AND PERHAPS SUBJECT TO A LICENSE FEE.'

"- 'DENY ACCESS TO CREDIT AT FAVORABLE TERMS' FROM US PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

"YET THE SHAH CONTINUES HIS PRESSURE FOR HIGHER OIL PRICES, CAUSING SEVERE DAMAGE TO THE US ECONOMY, WITH STRANGE IMPUNITY.

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"FOOTNOTE: THE TREASURY SECRETARY WAS ALARMED OVER OUR ACCESS TO HIS CONFIDENTIAL MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT. BUT HE CONFIRMED THAT HIS VIEWS WERE ACCURATELY SET FORTH IN THE MEMO."

2. DAVID B. OTTAWAY, WASH POST, FROM PRETORIA: "'MODERATE OPPOSITION MEETS WITH KISSINGER IN S. AFRICA"

"US SEC OF STATE KISSINGER MET FOR MORE THAN THREE HOURS SATURDAY WITH 22 BLACK, 'COLORED,' INDIAN AND WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN 'OPINION LEADERS' TO HEAR THEIR VIEWS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THIS RACIALLY TROUBLE, WHITE-RULED NATION.

"THE MEETING IMMEDIATELY STIRRED CONTROVERSY OVER WHETHER IT WAS A USEFUL DIPLOMATIC EXERCISE OR A LARGE SYMBOLIC GESTURE AIMED AT SHOWING AMERICAN BLACK OPINION THAT THE USG IS REALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THIS COUNTRY'S EXPLOSIVE RACIAL POLICIES.

"PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE BLACK, 'COLORED,' AND INDIAN FIGURES INVITED TO THE TALKS ARE REGARDED AS PRO-ESTABLISHMENT 'OFFICIAL' LEADERS OR AT BEST 'MODERATE MILITANTS' BY THE REBELLIOUS YOUTHS OF THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.

"IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS PUT INTO DETENTION 300 BLACKS AND 'COLOREDS' WHOM IT REGARDS AS THE LEADERS OF THE BLACK-CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS CURRENT UNREST SWEEPING THIS COUNTRY. IT IS THESE DETAINEES, PLUS OTHERS BEING HELD ON ROBBEN ISLAND OFF CAPE TOWN WHO ARE WIDELY HAILED NOW AS THE TRUE LEADERS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES.

"THE AMERICAN SECRETARY, HOWEVER, ALMOST CERTAINLY

HEARD A WIDE RANGE OF EXTREMELY CRITICAL VIEWS ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION EVEN FROM THE LEADERS HE MET AT THE RESIDENCE OF US AMBASSADOR WILLIAM BOWDLER SEVERAL MILES OUTSIDE PRETORIA.

"... BUTHELEZI WELCOMED THE AMERICAN SECRETARY'S VISIT TO AFRICA AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT KISSINGER COULD DO SOMETHING TO EASE MOUNTING TENSIONS AMONG THE RACES HERE. 'THE VERY LEAST HE COULD DO,' SAID THE CHIEF, 'IS TO PRESSURE

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PM VORSTER TO HOLD A MULTIRACIAL CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS THE DIRECTION IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS NOW HEADING IN ITS RACIAL POLICIES.

"BUTHELEZI TOLD REPORTERS HE FEELS THAT WHATEVER HAPPENS NOW IN WHITE-RULED NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA WILL BE THE 'FORE-PLAY OF WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN SOUTH AFRICA' SHORTLY. HE SAID THAT THE EXILED LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WERE ALREADY OPERATING ON SOUTH AFRICA'S BORDERS.

"AMONG THE OTHER FAIRLY OUTSPOKEN CRITICS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM OF APARTHEID KISSINGER MET WITH SONNY LEON, A GOVERNMENT-DEPOSED CHAIRMAN OF THE COLORED PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL AND LEADER OF THE 'COLORED' OPPOSITION LABOR PARTY. ANOTHER WAS LEONARD MOSALA, AN OPPOSITION LEADER ON THE GOVERNMENT-ESTABLISHMENT URBAN BANTU COUNCIL RESPONSIBLE FOR LOCAL AFFAIRS IN SOWETO.

"DR. KISSINGER IS PROPOSING SOLUTIONS FOR S-W AFRICA AND RHODESIA. IT IS OUR HOPE HE WILL PROPOSE A SOLUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA,' SAID LEON.

"HUDSON NTSANWISI, CHIEF MINISTER OF THE BLACK TRIBAL AREA OF GAZANKULU SAID:

"IT WAS PUT VERY CLEARLY TO DR. KISSINGER THAT THIS IS THE LAST LOT OF BLACK LEADERS HE IS MEETING WHO ARE STILL PREPARED TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL CHANGE.'

"THERE WAS SOME EMBARRASSING CONFUSION OVER WHETHER ONE WELL-KNOWN BLACK OPPOSITION FIGURE, MANAS BUTHELEZI, CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK PARENTS' ASSOCIATION IN SOWETO, WAS TO MEET WITH KISSINGER. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED AN INVITATION INITIALLY BUT LATER HE WAS ASKED TO MEET ONLY WITH WILLIAM E. SCHAUFELE, JR., THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

"THIS WAS APPARENTLY BECAUSE OF SOUTH AFRICAN OBJECTIONS TO HIS BEING 'COLORED' AND INDIAN LEADERS SELECTED TO MEET WITH KISSINGER.

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"THE AMERICAN SECRETARY ALSO MET FOR 90 MINUTES WITH A CROSS-SECTION OF 'PERMANENT SOUTH AFRICANS' INCLUDING COLIN EGLIN, SIR DEVILLIERS FRAAFF, THREE NEWSPAPER EDITORS, INCLUDING PERCY QOBOZA OF THE BLACK DAILY THE WORLDS; AND TWO UNIVERSITY RECTORS.

"MEANWHILE, MORE DETAILS BECAME KNOWN TODAY ABOUT THE MULTIPLE SHOOTING INCIDENTS INSIDE SOWETO YESTERDAY WHEN HUNDREDS OF BLACK SCHOOLCHILDREN TRIED TO HOLD ANTI-KISSINGER DEMONSTRATIONS.

"THE WORLD REPORTED THAT AT LEAST THREE YOUTHS DIED AND MORE THAN 30 WERE INJURED WHILE OTHER REPORTS PUT THE TOTAL AT AT LEAST SIX. THE BLACK NEWSPAPER REPRINTED ON ITS FRONT PAGE ONE OF THE MORE POINTED POSTERS DEMONSTRATORS HAD BEEN CARRYING. IT SAID: 'KISSINGER, YOUR EXISTENCY IN AZANIA IS BULLSHIT. EVEN ANIMALS ARE ANGRY.'

"AZANIA, THE BLACK NATIONALIST NAME FOR SOUTH AFRICA, IS COMING INCREASINGLY INTO USE HERE AMONG BLACKS.

"SOWETO WAS REPORTED QUIET SATURDAY, AS WAS PRETORIA, BUT POLICE AND ANTI-RIOT SQUADS WERE ON ALERT FOR ANY SIGN OF TROUBLE. THE DISTURBANCES IN CAPE TOWN THURSDAY NIGHT THAT LEFT AT LEAST 12 AND POSSIBLY 15 DEAD ALSO REPORTEDLY HAVE SUBSIDED."

3. CHRISTOPHER WREN, NYTIMES FROM MOSCOW: "MOSCOW, PUZZLED BY FORD-CARTER CONTEST, WORRIES ABOUT DETENTE"

"THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SEEMS TO BE LEAVING MOSCOW PUZZLED AND SOMEWHAT APPREHENSIVE.

"THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE STILL CONFORTABLE WITH PRESIDENT FORD BECAUSE HIS MEETINGS WITH BREZHNEV, THE COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF, MADE HIM A KNOWN POLITICAL QUANTITY TO THE KREMLIN.

"BUT THE SOVIET ANALYSTS WHO HAVE STUDIED AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION POLLS ARE APPARENTLY SENDING UP THE MESSAGE THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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JIMMY CARTER MIGHT WIN.

"CONSEQUENTLY, THE SOVIET PRESS HAS POINTEDLY REFRAINED FROM TAKING SIDES. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, SOVIET OFFICIALS ALSO DEMUR THAT PREDICTING THE OUTCOME WOULD MEAN 'INTERFERING IN YOUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS,' A SCRUPLE

THAT HAS NOT BEEN EVIDENT IN MOSCOW ABOUT SOME OTHER FOREIGN ELECTIONS.

"THE CAUTIOUS REACTION POINTS UP A BROADER DILEMMA FACING THE KREMLIN, WHICH HAS SOUGHT STABILITY IN ITS TIES WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS. NOW, THE DEATH OF MAO AND THE COMING ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, WEST GERMANY AND JAPAN HAVE CREATED UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE CONTINUING POLICIES OF MOSCOW'S PRINCIPAL IDEOLOGICAL ADVERSARIES.

"SOVIET CONCERN OVER THE FUTURE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS LIKELY TO BE ASSUAGED SOMEWHAT BY THE CURRENT VISIT OF W. AVERILL HARRIMAN. THE SENIOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY STATESMAN, WHO ARRIVED IN MOSCOW ON THURSDAY, WILL BE SEEING BREZHNEV AND OTHER OFFICIALS DURING HIS WEEK-LONG STAY. 'I THINK THEY'RE HAPPY TO HAVE SOMEONE COME HERE WHO CAN EXPLAIN THE VERNACULAR OF THE CAMPAIGN,' THE FORMER NEW YORK GOVERNOR SAID TODAY.

"HARRIMAN DESCRIBED HIS VISIT AS A PRIVATE ONE 'MOTIVATED BY MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT EXIST DURING A CAMPAIGN YEAR.' HE CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD CONSULTED BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE WITH BOTH CARTER AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT BUT SAID HE WAS NOT ON A MISSION FOR EITHER. 'I FELT THAT MY COMING WOULD BE USEFUL NO MATTER WHO IS ELECTED,' HARRIMAN SAID.

"WHEN DETENTE EMERGED LAST SPRING AS AN ISSUE IN THE AMERICAN PRIMARIES, IT WAS INITIALLY DISMISSED HERE AS ELECTION-YEAR TALK THAT WOULD NOT REALLY ALTER THE RELATIONSHIP. NOW, AT LEAST A FEW SOVIET INSIDERS ARE WONDERING ALOUD WHETHER SUCH PERSISTENT CRITICISM OF SOVIET-AMERICAN ACCOMMODATION MIGHT LEAVE SCARS WHEN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS ARE OVER.

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"BOTH FORD AND CARTER HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO TASK IN THE SOVIET PRESS FOR SOME TOUGH REMARKS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION. THE COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER PRAVDA TOLD RUSSIANS RECENTLY THAT 'THE POLICY OF AGGRAVATING TENSION IS REJECTED BY BROAD SECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.'

"THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN FAULTED A NUMBER OF TIMES FOR HAVING MADE CONCESSIONS TO THE REPUBLICAN RIGHT WING IN HIS BITTER FIGHT WITH REAGAN AND FOR HAVING PERMITTED A HARD LINE ON THE SOVIET UNION TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

"THE RUSSIANS SEEM FRUSTRATED THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW MUCH MORE ABOUT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS THAN THEY DID WHEN HE CAME TO THEIR ATTENTION LAST SPRING. 'HE'S A

'PROPHET, NOT A POLITICIAN,' A PROMINENT SOVIET JOURNALIST
QUIPPED PRIVATELY. 'WHO CAN TELL ANYTHING ABOUT PROPHETS?'

"THE PRINCIPAL CONCERN BEING EXPRESSED PRIVATELY HERE IS
WHAT EFFECT THE CAMPAIGN WILL HAVE TO THE STRATEGIC
WEAPONS AGREEMENT THAT FORD AND BREZHNEV OUTLINED AT
THEIR VLADIVOSTOK MEETING LATE IN 1974.

"PROGRESS ON THE ACCORD HAS BECOME DEADLOCKED OVER TECH-
NICAL DISAGREEMENTS ON WHETHER THE LATEST SOVIET AND
AMERICAN WEAPONS SYSTEMS SHOULD BE INCLUDED UNDER THE
CEILING OF 2,400 DELIVERY VEHICLES.

"SEVERAL SOVIET ANALYSTS BELIEVE THAT IF PRESIDENT FORD
GETS RE-ELECTED, THE NEW ARMS PACT COULD BE REACHED
SHORTLY AFTERWARDS. IF CARTER IS ELECTED, THEY NOTE
ANOTHER AGREEMENT MIGHT HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT. THIS HAS
LED SOME DIPLOMATS TO SUSPECT THAT THE KREMLIN DOES NOT
REALLY WANT A STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT BEFORE THE
ELECTION.

"AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS CONCERN THAT THE TIME LIMIT
ON THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD COULD EXPIRE NEXT YEAR BEFORE
IT GETS ENACTED. AND SOME SOVIET INSIDERS SEEM TO
REALIZE THAT A PERIOD OF ACCLIMATIZATION WOULD HAVE TO
FOLLOW A DEMOCRATIC VICTORY. 'WE ALREADY KNOW WHO FORD
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IS,' ONE SAID. 'WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH HIM. BUT IT WOULD TAKE
US AT LEAST SIX MONTHS TO GET TO KNOW CARTER.'"

4. DAVID BINDER, NYTIMES FROM WASHINGTON: "ENVOY TO
YUGOSLAVIA CAUSES CONTROVERSY AT STATE DEPARTMENT"

"STATEMENTS BY LAURENCE H. SILBERMAN, UNITED STATES
AMBASSADOR TO YUGOSLAVIA, ON BEHALF OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN
IMPRISONED IN THAT COUNTRY HAVE HAD SHARP REPRECUSSIONS
INSIDE THE STATE DEPARTMENT, ACCORDING TO ADMINISTRATION
OFFICIALS.

"THEY SAID SILBERMAN HAD DEMANDED THE REMOVAL OF THE
DEPARTMENT'S YUGOSLAV DESK OFFICER, ALAN R. THOMPSON, OVER
THE HANDLING OF THE SPY CASE. MR. THOMPSON WAS TRANSFERRED
LAST MONTH.

"THE INTERNAL CONTROVERSY CENTERED ON SILBERMAN'S PUBLIC
CONDEMNATION OF THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT FOR HOLDING LASZLO
TOTH, A COLORADO ENGINEER WITH DUAL YUGOSLAV AND AMERICAN
CITIZENSHIP, AS A SPY FOR MORE THAN 11 MONTHS.

"THE ENVOY MADE HIS CRITICISM IN YUGOSLAVIA ON JUNE 7,
THE DAY YUGOSLAVIA INFORMED THE UNITED STATES IT WOULD

SOON RELEASE TOTH, AND AGAIN ON JULY 23, THE DAY TOTH
WAS RELEASED.

"SIBLERMAN WAS PRAISED IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS
FOR HIS DEFENSE OF TOTH AND HIS ACTION WERE LATER SUPPORTED
BY THE WHITE HOUSE AND SEC OF STATE KISSINGER.

"BUT INSIDE THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OFFICIALS THERE SAID
A MOVE WAS MADE AT A VERY HIGH LEVEL TO HAVE HIM RESIGN
OR BE REPRIMANDED FOR 'UNDIPLOMATIC BEHAVIOR.'

"SILBERMAN HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE WAS CRITICIZED BY THE
'EASTERN EUROPEAN SECTION' OF THE DEPARTMENT.

"BUT OTHER OFFICIALS SAID THAT A REPRIMAND HAD BEEN UNDER
CONSIDERATION BY DEPUTY SEC CHARLES ROBINSON, DEP UNDER
SEC FOR MANAGEMENT LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER AND ASSISTANT
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SEC FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ARTHUR HARTMAN.

"IT WAS FINALLY OVERRULED BY KISSINGER, WHO WAS SAID TO
HAVE FELT THAT A REPRIMAND WOULD ONLY PROVIDE SILBERMAN
TO CARRY HIS CASE TO THE PUBLIC AGAIN AND POSSIBLY BECOME
AN ISSUE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

"KISSINGER WAS ALSO DESCRIBED AS FEELING THAT IT WOULD
SERVE NO PURPOSE TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST SILBERMAN
BECAUSE PRESIDENT TITO ASSAILED SILBERMAN IN AN INTERVIEW
WITH TANJUG, THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY, ON JULY 31.

"TITO ACCUSED AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN OF WAGING A 'CAMPAIGN'
'PRESSURE' AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN BURDENED BY THE MUTUAL ACCUSATIONS,
AMERICAN AND YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS SAID.

"AS A RESULT, KISSINGER ORDERED ALL DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS
DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH THE MATTER NOT TO DISCUSS IT WITH
THE PRESS. HE ALSO SENT AN ADVISORY MESSAGE TO SILBERMAN
ASKING HIM NOT TO PROVIDE NEW ALTERCATIONS WITH HIS HOST
GOVERNMENT, THE OFFICIALS SAID.

"THE CONTROVERSY HAD ALSO HAD A PHILOSOPHICAL ELEMENT,
THE OFFICIALS ADDED, BECAUSE IT INVOLVED ADMINISTRATION
ATTITUDES TOWARD THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA.

"SILBERMAN, A CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN, HAS MADE A POINT
OF DECLARING HIS DISTASTE FOR COMMUNIST POLICIES AND WHAT
HE DEEMED ANTI-AMERICAN ACTIONS BY YUGOSLAVIA, THEY SAID.

"IN THIS REGARD, THEY SAID, HE HAS EARNED A CERTAIN AMOUNT
OF SYMPATHY FROM KISSINGER AND SOME OF HIS AIDES WHO HAVE

VIEWED SOME YUGOSLAV POLICIES -- FOR INSTANCE IN THE ANGOLA CRISIS OF LAST YEAR -- AS 'UNHELPFUL.'"

5. JOHN F. BURNS, NYTIMES FROM JOHANNESBURG: "A JAILED BLACK RELAYS WARNING TO KISSINGER"

"WHILE SEC OF STATE KISSINGER WAS MEETING IN PRETORIA TODAY WITH A GROUP OF NON-WHITE REPRESENTATIVES, HUNDREDS UNCLASSIFIED

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OF MORE RADICAL BLACK LEADERS WERE IN JAIL CELLS, UNDER INDEFINITE DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL.

"MANY OF THESE LEADERS HAVE VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED THE UNITED STATES DECISION TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH PM VORSTER AND HAVE WARNED THAT FUTURE AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH A BLACK RULED SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE JEOPARDIZED BY THE KISSINGER-VORSTER TALKS, WHICH ARE WIDELY REGARDED BY BLACK RADICALS AS REINFORCING THE POSITION OF THE WHITE GOVERNMENTS HERE.

"ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT DETAINEES, STEVEN BIKO, SPOKE TO THIS REPORTER SOME WEEKS AGO ABOUT WHAT HE WOULD TELL MR. KISSINGER IF HE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET HIM. AT THE TIME, BIKO WAS UNDER A GOVERNMENT BANNING ORDER, FORBIDDING HIM TO GIVE INTERVIEWS FOR PUBLICATION.

"HE AGREED THAT HIS REMARKS SHOULD BE PUBLISHED IF HE WAS ARRESTED. RECENTLY, HE WAS SEIZED BY THE SECURITY POLICE AT HIS HOME IN KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, 450 MILES SOUTH OF JOHANNESBURG .

"ON THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES, HE SAID THAT BLACK RADICALS HERE WOULD LIKE TO SEE 'LESS OF THE KISSINGER-VORSTER TYPE OF TALKS AND MORE EXPLICIT SUPPORT, BOTH MORALLY AND MONEY-WISE, FOR THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN AZANIA,' THE NAME GIVEN TO SOUTH AFRICA BY BLACK NATIONALISTS.

"IN PARTICULAR, HE SAID, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ISSUE AN ULTIMATUM TO SOUTH AFRICA TO ABANDON APARTHEID, ITS POLICY OF RACIAL SEPARATION, OR FACE A COMPLETE TRADE, SPORT AND CULTURAL BOYCOTT. IT SHOULD MAKE 'A MORE REALISTIC USE' OF ITS VOTE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, SUPPORTING MOVES TO OUST SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE WORLD BODY AND ITS AGENCIES, HE SAID.

"ON THE QUESTION OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, INVOLVING MORE THAN 300 COMPANIES AND A TOTAL OF MORE THAN \$2 BILLION, MR. BIKO SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BAN ANY FURTHER INVESTMENT AND TAKE STEPS TO FORCE THOSE COMPANIES NOW OPERATING THERE TO LEAVE.
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"THE ATTITUDE OF A BLACK GOVERNMENT TOWARD FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, HE SAID, WOULD BE GOVERNED BY THE READINESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE THESE AND OTHER RESTRICTIVE MEASURES DURING THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE BLACK STRUGGLE.

"I DON'T THINK THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICAN AND AZANIA WOULD NECESSARILY BE JEOPARDIZED, BUT I THINK OUR ATTITUDE WOULD BE HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY THE ATTITUDES THAT AMERICA TAKES TOWARD THE PRESENT PROCESS OF CHANGE,' HE SAID.

"AMERICA SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD TO PROP UP THE SYSTEM AT A TIME WHEN IT IS BEING SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED BY PROGRESSIVE FORCES. IF THEY DO, AND IT IS A QUESTION THAT HAS BEEN RAISED IN OUR MINDS BY THE KISSINGER-VORSTER TALKS, IT MEANS, IPSO FACTO, A REASSESSMENT OF OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN US.'

"BIKO'S REMARKS TOOK ON NEW SIGNIFICANCE AFTER A NUMBER OF BLACK ORGANIZATIONS ISSUED STATEMENTS BEFORE KISSINGER'S TALKS WARNING THAT THEY WERE LIKELY TO REINFORCE THE SUSPICIONS BECAUSE THOSE INVITED TO THE TALKS WERE MOSTLY BLACK LEADERS WHO COOPERATE IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER WITH THE GOVERNMENT. IF KISSINGER WANTED TO HEAR THE TRUE VOICE OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA, THESE GROUPS MAINTAINED, HE SHOULD HAVE INSISTED ON MEETING SOME OF THE BLACK LEADERS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS DETAINED, MOST OF WHOM OPERATE OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT-CREATED STRUCTURES.

"ALTOGETHER MORE THAN 850 BLACKS HAVE BEEN DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL SINCE THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT UPHEAVAL IN BLACK TOWNSHIPS BEGAN THREE MONTHS AGO. OF THESE, ABOUT 250 BELONG TO THE SO-CALLED BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS GROUPS, FORMED IN RECENT YEARS TO CARRY THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID.

"BIKO, AGE 29, IS WIDELY REGARDED AS A KEY FIGURE IN THESE GROUPS. HE WAS FOUNDER AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION, A BLACK UNIVERSITY GROUP, AND A MAJOR FIGURE BEHIND THE BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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CLOSEST THING TO A FUNCTIONING BLACK PLITICAL PARTY.

"HIS DISCUSSION WITH THIS REPORTER TOOK PLACE AT THE OFFICES OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAM, A SELF-HELP GROUP IN KINGWILLIAMSTOWN. BIKO'S MANNER WAS MILD, HIS RESPONSES LACED WITH HUMOROUS ACCOUNTS OF BRUSHES WITH AUTHORITIES. HE SPOKE OF BLACK RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA AS AN EVENTUAL

CERTAINTY AND INDICATED THAT HE EXPECTED TO PLAY A ROLE

IN IT.

"HE MADE CLEAR THAT A GOVERNMENT FORMED AROUND THE BLACK-CONSCIOUSNESS GROUPS WOULD FOLLOW A POLICY OF BLACK SOCIALISM, PLACING SEVERE RESTRAINTS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND SHARPLY CUTTING, IF NOT ELIMINATING, FOREIGN INVESTMENT."

6. WASHINGTON STAR EDITORIAL, SUNDAY SEPT 19

A STRANGE POKER GAME

NO ONE EVER HAS ACCUSED SECSTATE KISSINGER OF NAIVETE -- OR COULD NOT, WITH REAL JUSTIFICATION. BUT AS HE CALLED LAST WEEK AT THE CAPITALS OF BLACK AFRICA ON THE WAY TO HIS PEACE-MAKING MISSION ONE MIGHT WONDER WHO'S TAKING WHOM FOR A RIDE.

A CERTAIN DUPPLICITY IS TO BE EXPECTED MAY EVEN BE ESSENTIAL, IN DIPLOMACY. BUT THE "FRONT LINE" PRESIDENTS UNDERSTOOD TO "WELCOME" DR KISSINGER'S ROLE AS HONEST BROKER BETWEEN THEM AND THE EMBATTLED WHITE REGIMES OF RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE CARRYING THINGS PRETTY FAR. THEY MAY FEEL MORE INDIFFERENCE AND PESSIMISM THAN THEY ACTUALLY FEEL. BUT AFTER DR KISSINGER'S DAR-ES-SALAAM MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE OF TANZANIA SOME OF THE REPORTERS IN THE SECRETARY'S PARTY THOUGHT THAT HE WAS STUNNED AND SURPRISED. THE TANZANIAN GOVT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, EVEN DEMANDED A COMMITMENT THAT "IF A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER (IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA) IS IMPOSSIBLE" THE US WILL TAKE THE SIDE OF THE SO-CALLED FREEDOM FIGHTERS WHO ARE TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE IAN SMITH GOVT BY FORCE.

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PERHAPS THE PROSPECT OF SUCH A COMMITMENT HAD BEEN ERROROUSLY INFERRRED FROM THINGS SAID BY DR KISSINGER SINCE THE "NEW" AFRICAN POLICY WAS ANNOUNCED; BUT COLLABORATION IN THAT ENTERPRPE"SE IS OUT OF THE QUESTION.

THEN, A DAY LATER IN ZAMBIA, AN OVERWROUGHT PRES KAUNDA SPOKE OF DR KISSINGER'S HAVING "A FEW DAYS, NOT WEEKS, TO SUCCESS." TIME IS INDEED SHORT, BUT IS IT THAT SHORT?

AFTER THESE SCENES, SECRETARY KISSINGER'S COMPOSURE MUST BE SHAKEN. HE MUST WONDER HOW HE HAS BECOME SO DEEPLY ENMESHED IN THIS ALARMING AFRICAN CONFRONTATION. HE HAD LEFT ON THE MISSION WITH HIS EYES OPEN, UNDERSTANDING THAT SUCCESS IN HOLDING OFF WAR WAS A LONG-SHOT POSSIBILITY BUT ALSO FEELING THAT THE URGENCY OF THE MATTER OVERRODE THE RISKS. BUT HE ASSUMED, ACCORDING TO THE BEST

INFORMATION AVAILABLE, THAT HE HAD THE FULL SUPPORT OF THOSE WHO HAVE PRESENTED HIM WITH DISCONCERTING PUBLIC ULTIMATA ON THE SCENE.

HAVE SOME SIGNALS BEEN CROSSED, OR WERE THESE SCENES IN THE CARDS ALL ALONG? IT WOULD BE STRANGE, ADMITTEDLY, IF THERE WERE NO LURKING SUSPICION OF HIS PURPOSES. THE DEBACLE IN ANGOLA LAST YEAR, FOLLOWING THE DRASTIC CHANGE

IN THE POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF PORTUGAL, LEFT THE US WITHOUT A CURRENT POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN KEEPING WITH THE PRACTICE OF PUTTING EUROPEAN AND NATO TIES FIRST -- A PROPER PRIORITY, IN OUR VIEW -- THE US HAD EXERTED NO PRESSURE ON PORTUGAL TO RELAX OR ABANDON ITS BELEAGUERED COLONIALIST RULE IN ANGOLA; QUITE THE CONTRARY, IN FACT. THEN, AFTER THE RADICAL COUP IN PORTUGAL AND THE SWIFT COLLAPSE OF PORTUGUESE RULE, WE HAD EXTENDED SECRET AID TO A LOSING FACTION IN THE SCRAMBLE TO PICK UP THE PIECES IN ANGOLA. SO DESPITE THE NEW TUNE THAT DR KISSINGER BEGAN TO SING DURING HIS AFRICAN TOUR LAST SPRING, WE CONTINUED TO BE SUSPECTED OF SIDING WITH THE FEVERED DRIVE FOR "MAJORITY RULE" IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA FOR ULTERIOR PURPOSES -- BECAUSE RUSSIA AND CHINA ARE INVESTING HEAVILY IN THE INSURGENCIES; AND BECAUSE WE CONTINUE TO HAVE SUBSTANTIAL TRADE AND UNCLASSIFIED

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INVESTMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

GIVEN THIS BACKGROUND, NO WONDER THE BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS ARE HEDGING THEIR BETS ON THE KISSINGER MISSION; NO WONDER THEY SAY ONE THING TO DR KISSINGER PRIVATELY AND OTHER THINGS WHEN THEY'RE WITHIN EARSHOT OF MILITANT CONSTITUENTS WHO WANT WAR.

BUT IT ALL TENDS TO REINFORCE THE SUSPICION THAT THE US IS BEING DRAGGED INTO A SITUATION THAT EVEN DR KISSINGER'S CELEBRATED NEGOTIATING TALENTS CANNOT BRING UNDER CONTROL.

"THE QUESTION TO BE ASKED," WROTE GEORGE F. KENNAN LAST MAY WHEN THIS LARGER AMERICAN ROLE SEEMED TO BE IN THE MAKING, "IS WHETHER THE UNCERTAIN FAVOR OF OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS IS WORTH THE RISK OF ASSUMING TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE FURTHER BURDENS (OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF THE WHITE MINORITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA) ... IN ADDITION TO THOSE BY WHICH IT HAS RECENTLY BEEN SO GRIEVOUSLY BURDENED."

THAT REMAINS THE QUESTION TO BE ASKED TODAY, ESPECIALLY WHEN THOSE WHO WERE ADVERTISED AS SPONSORS OF DR KISSINGER'S MISSION -- THEIR "FAVOR" STILL "UNCERTAIN" -- SUPPORT IT

SO FEEBLY IN HIS VERY PRESENCE. WE MUST ALL HOPE, OF COURSE, THAT EVERYONE IS PLAYING A ROLE IN PUBLIC VERY DIFFERENT FROM HIS ROLE IN PRIVATE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS ACCUSTOMED TO HIGH-RISK DIPLOMATIC POKER. BUT THIS IS THE FIRST TIME HE'S ENTERED A GAME WHERE SO MANY OF THE PLAYERS SPEND MOST OF THEIR TIME BEATING THEIR FISTS ON THE TABLE AND THREATENING TO TURN IT OVER AND DRAW THEIR GUNS FIVE MINUTES AGO.

7. FOLLOWING ITEM APPEARED IN "WALTER SCOTT'S PERSONALITY PARADE" IN PARADE MAGAZINE IN WASH POST SUNDAY EDITIONS:

"Q: DOES HENRY KISSINGER OWN MARVIN KALB OF CBS IN THE SENSE THAT HE REGULARLY MANIPULATES HIM? -- G.K., LOS ANGELES, CAL.
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A: KISSINGER AND KALB ARE FRIENDS. BUT KISSINGER IS WISE ENOUGH TO REALIZE THAT IF KALB LOSES HIS OBJECTIVITY AND INDEPENDENCE, HE WILL LOSE HIS CREDIBILITY, AND HIS WORTH TO KISSINGER WILL DIMINISH. KISSINGER TRIES TO MANIPULATE ALL NEWSMEN WHO COVER HIM. SOMETIMES HE SUCCEEDS; OTHER TIMES HE FAILS. WHAT REPORTERS LIKE MOST ABOUT KISSINGER ARE HIS SENSE OF HUMOR AND ACCESSIBILITY. ON OCCASION KISSINGER CAN OOZE CHARM. FOR THE MOST PART NEWSMEN LIKE KISSINGER AND ARE CHARY OF HIM."
ROBINSON

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